

1: Karsten--97-98
512, 286

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names."

1: Karsten--105-106

116, 286, 531

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"... a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's tara'chi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hī ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

1: Karsten--105-106
116, 286, 531

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauakina. [106] Some of the yauakina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called unta yauakina ('the big yauakina'), whereas the narrower yauakina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauakina ('the little yauakina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called pufsu. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puitsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names,

1: Karsten--105-106
116, 286, 531

(1916-18) 1935
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Jivaro-3

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambitsa hi), just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaros have such a significance: they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

"The men are before everything else warriors--the protectors of their womenfolk from the raids of neighbours; after that, they are the hunters; and lastly, they are the weavers. Why this last task should be by common consent allotted to them instead of to the women, remains to me a mystery. The latter do the spinning and every other kind of manual labour in the life of the tribe, and yet it is the men who not only weave their own loin-clothes, but also the material for the women's garments."

"To weave this thread into cloth (this being the only raw material for the purpose known to the tribe) a primitive loom is set up in the ground, composed of two pairs of sticks some two feet in length upon which the woof is wound in an unbroken length in such a way that each thread that is added to the 'wall' thus formed crosses the last in the opposite direction; then, when the height of the 'wall' is the width of the piece to be woven, the sticks are drawn from the ground and the whole thing is laid flat. The two centre sticks are now withdrawn and replaced by specially prepared weaving-staffs, polished with sand so as to slip up and down the roof without catching.

To operate the loom, one of the original outside sticks is made fast to some heavy outside object, the other tied to the weaver's waist. He then commences to pass the shuttle (a broad flat stick, on which the warp is wound) to and fro, manipulating the threads of the wool by means of the weaving-staffs, on just the same principle as modern machinery, so that the result is a firmly woven piece of cloth. He commences at the end nearest to him, gradually winding the finished cloth, and working toward the far end. To prevent disaster in the event of [209] the weaving-staffs slipping out of position, every alternate thread has been fastened securely by a loop to a small square stick which is left attached to the work until it is completed."

10: Anthony--159 [2]

(1920-21) 1921

Jivaro

116, 462, 286

"As evidence of their handiwork, I saw very creditable cotton cloth, which had been made by them from their own cotton. Strangely enough, the men, when questioned, said that they personally had woven this, the household weaving of fabrics being peculiarly a feminine province everywhere else in Ecuador."

25: Vigna--42 [3]

116, 291, 286

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The Dress and Finery of the Jíbaro. The dress of the Jíbaro consists of a loincloth of cotton, woven by the man on primitive frames. He spins the threads which make up the weave on rainy days with very simple distaffs and spindles. Once the threads are prepared, the Jíbaro colors them with earths and special coloring materials procured in abundance from the plants of the forest. The color of the cloth that he weaves is not showy; the colors of the ground, coffee-color and black, are not easily distinguishable.

26: Brüning--58 [5]
116, 177, 286, 462

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--58 [7]

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

116, 286, 248

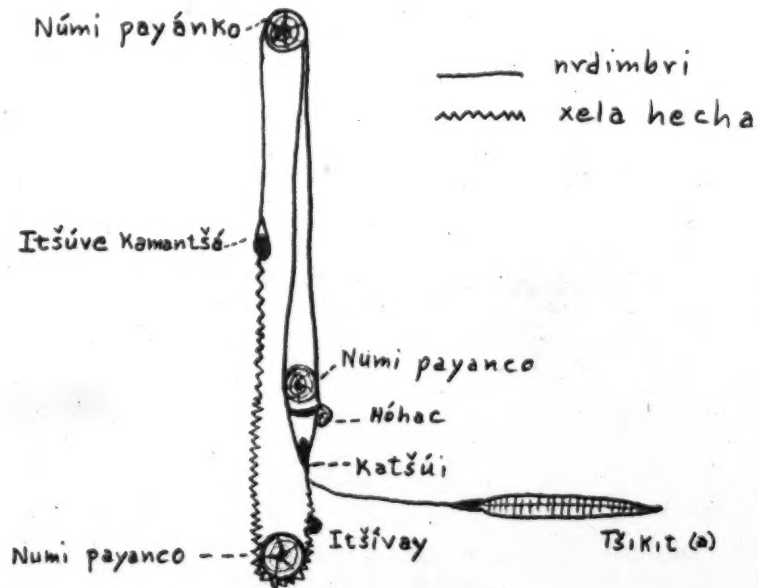
For their own home production of clothing the Indians cultivate a small amount of cotton (uhúts), which they themselves spin and weave.

26: Brüning--59
116, 286, 404

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Figure 6. Cross-section of a Loom.



For spinning purposes the Indians use the ordinary simple spindle tš(i) kít(a), which is still common everywhere in Peru, with this difference, however, that the spindle of the Aguarunas is relatively rather big. The specimen in my collection has a length of 67 cm. It is made of chonta wood. The whorl (sémp(i)) consists of a thin disc of turtle-shell (?) and has a diameter of 47 mm. With the help of this simple tool they are able to make a very fine and even yarn (ikóngamo).

Their weaving apparatus is likewise hardly different from the one which is in general use in Peru. It is a distinguishing feature, however, that the Aguaruna Indians combine the two ends of the warp with a thin stick (itšúve kamantšá), that is to say, that they form an endless warp, while in the case of the coastal looms each end of the warp is fastened by itself to one of the pieces of wood.

Their type of loom is best illustrated by my drawing in Fig. 6. The upper piece of wood (númi payángo) is tied to some post of the building. The lower wood is, when in use, tied to the lower part of the weaver's back by means of a belt (yúngua). The whole thing is thus kept straight by the weaver's body.

In my diagram hóhac signifies a thin stick to which are fastened, by means of small loops, one half of the warp threads so that the latter may be exchanged. Katšúi (cachui) is a piece of wood that is, in cross-sectional view, wedge-shaped and serves to fasten the woof. Itšívay is the broad-holder [Breithalter in German?]. The shuttle is called tšikit(a) (chiquita).

28:Tessman--353-354

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
248 are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
386 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the

286 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very

531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,

302 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-

[386] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-

302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and

[824] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and

[412] the proper brushes in a nicely stitched bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small

[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his

301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women

304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood disk into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsentsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 170 411 {439} {914}

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless getting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 282 438 439 415 283 824

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
 283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

• [286]
 [533]
 [539]

For me it is very easy
 To spin yarn,
 For I am a man-spider.
 I am a man-spider.
 Therefore I am adept.
 My hand is like the hand
 of a spider.
 Because of this
 I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
 [283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
 [197] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
 286 mill are unknown. Cotton kilts (*mipi*) of a standard size and
 294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses
 (*terali*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common
 type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are
 simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held
 together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held
 in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened
 over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton
 belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily
 woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of en-
 during daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
 292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
 179 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
 574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weeding. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary marital residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary marital residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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CULTURAL CHANGE

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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